

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4295

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 YAOUNDE 0243

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, US, CM
SUBJ: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: STATE 311031

1. IN EFFORT GIVE DEPT FULL BENEFIT SPECTRUM OUR "FAR OUT"
THINKING, HEREWITH TRANSMITTED ARE COMMENTS PREPARED BY DIFFERENT
ELEMENTS IN THE MISSION BASED ON REFTELS "NEW POLICY INITIATIVES
IN AFRICA."

2. BEGIN AMBASSADOR:

WE APPLAUD THE PROPOSAL TO INCREASE ATTENTION TO MODERATE, SMALLER,
FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. CAMEROON IS PREDISPOSED TO COOPERATE WITH US
WHERE OUR INTERESTS COINCIDE; THE PRESENT REACTION AGAINST SOVIT
AND CUBAN INTERFERENCE IN AFRICA IS A CURRENT EXAMPLE OF SUCH A
COINCIDENCE OF INTERESTS, BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE OVERPLAYED.

3. CAMEROON WILL BE STRONGER AND MORE INFLUENTIAL AS ITS ECONOMY
DEVELOPS AND IT APPROACHES GREATER SELF-RELIANCE. SINCE IT AVOIDS
IDEOLOGICAL ALIGNMENTS, IT IS AN EXCELLENT CANDIDATE FOR CLOSER
TIES OF THE FOLLOWING KINDS: (A) REGULAR AND FREQUENT CONSULTA-
TION WITH CAMEROON LEADERS, GENUINE SHARING OF PROBLEMS AND

DILEMMAS AND ATTEMPTS TO ADDRESS THEM TOGETHER SHOULD BE MORE
SUCCESSFUL THAN EFFORTS TO "SELL" A PREDETERMINED U.S. POLICY
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POSITION. SPECIFIC LEADERS SHOULD BE GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION AND
AN ATMOSPHERE OF COMMON UNDERSTANDING BUILT SO THAT WE AND THEY
HAVE A BASIS FOR SOUND COMMUNICATION ALREADY ESTABLISHED WHEN
ISSUES ARISE. (B) IDENTIFICATION OF KEY AFRICAN SPECIALISTS OR
OTHER RESOURCE PERSONS ALL OVER AFRICA KNOWN TO OUR EMBASSIES, WHO
SHOULD BE CONSULTED FREQUENTLY AS WE WORK OUT POSITIONS RELEVANT
TO A VARIETY OF INTERNATIONAL (NOT ONLY AFRICAN) ISSUES. OUR

TOUCHING BASES WITH EEC, NATO, AND VARIOUS EUROPEAN LEADERS IS WELL KNOWN; OUR CONCERN FOR THE ADVICE OF SIMILARLY WELL-PLACED AFRICANS SHOULD BE EQUALLY STANDARD PROCEDURE AND WOULD PAY OFF (CAMEROON REACTS WELL TO THIS APPROACH). (C) THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICA, THOUGH NOT WITHOUT HAZARD, SUGGESTS THAT WE MIGHT ENCOURAGE AND MAKE BETTER USE OF EXISTING AND POTENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EMBASSIES AND KEY OFFICIALS WHICH HAVE A BASIS OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. A QUICK RESPONSE TO A NEED FOR STRONG SUPPORT IN A MULTILATERAL SITUATION MAY DEPEND ON TRUST WELL BEYOND THE USUAL DIPLOMATIC LEVEL. IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING ONE CAN SOMETIMES APPEAL FOR EXCEPTIONAL SUPPORT, AS WELL AS ACHIEVE GREATER DEPTH OF ANALYSIS OF ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL VIEWS, INTERESTS, AND INTERPRETATIONS. (D) OPPORTUNITIES FOR EACH HIGH-LEVEL VISITOR TO MEET ONE OR MORE KEY LEADERS OF THE HOST COUNTRY ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS COULD BUILD VALUABLE POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE CONTACTS.

4. GIVING PRIORITY IN U.S. AID PROGRAMS TO BOOSTING PROMISING LDCS TO A LEVEL OF VIABILITY CAPABLE OF SUSTAINING FURTHER DEVELOPMENT COULD WELL BE THE WISEST POLICY WE COULD UNDERTAKE IN AFRICA. HELPING THE POOREST ONES WHILE COMMENDABLE IN HUMANITARIAN TERMS, CAN BE SELF-DEFEATING IF ITS EFFECT IS TO KEEP COUNTRIES ON THE DOLE, PUT RELIEF AHEAD OF DEVELOPMENT, AND/OR ENCOURAGE LDCS TO REMAIN ON THE POORER SIDE OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GAP. THE EXAMPLES OF ONE OR TWO COUNTRIES WHO ASCEND THE LADDER AND REACH VIABILITY WITHOUT SPECTACULAR DISCOVERIES OF OIL OR POTASH
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DEMONSTRATES THE POTENTIAL PAYOFF FOR SOUND PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES. IT WOULD GIVE HOPE TO THOSE LDCS WHO TAKE SERIOUSLY THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT. ULTIMATELY IT WOULD GET SOME COUNTRIES OFF THE RECIPIENT LIST AND NUDGE THEM TOWARD THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO HAVE RESOURCES AND EXPERTISE TO SHARE. IT COULD PROVIDE THE WORLD WITH A GROWING ROSTER OF NATIONS WHOSE INTERESTS COINCIDE INCREASINGLY WITH OUR OWN; IT WOULD ALSO BLUR THE IDENTITY OF SOUTH, THIRD WORLD AND POOR, AND FOSTER LESS SIMPLISTIC POSITIONS ON ISSUES OF WORLD IMPORTANCE. THE U.S. COULD PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN ENCOURAGING OTHER POTENTIAL DONORS TO POOL THEIR PROGRAMS AND RESOURCES AND BRING ABOUT CONDITIONS WHICH NURTURE SELF-SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT.

5. THE AMBASSADOR'S SELF-HELP FUND CAN PROVIDE LEVERAGE FOR IMPORTANT GROUNDROOTS CONTACTS AROUND THE COUNTRY AND APPRECIATION FOR WELL-PLACED AID, BUT FULL EFFECTIVENESS REQUIRES ADEQUATE FOLLOW-UP TO CATCH AND SOLVE PROBLEMS AS THEY OCCUR. FUNDS CAN BE WASTED IF GOOD FOLLOW-UP IS NOT AVAILABLE.

6. THE ASSUMPTION OF MORE LEADERSHIP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER MIGHT BE BOTH POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE IF THE INITIAL WORKING DRAFT COULD BE PROVIDED BY A GROUP OF (AT

LEAST RELATIVELY) NON-POLITICAL EXPERTS IN ECONOMIC PLANNING, FINANCE, INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND SO-CALLED NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES- PREFERABLY PERSONS ABOVE SUSPICION AND DRAWN FROM ALL QUARTERS OF THE WORLD. OBVIOUSLY, FINDING ENOUGH GUNNAR MYRDAL TYPES TO FIT THE REQUIREMENTS WILL BE TOUGH BUT THE REWARDS ARE WORTH A GOOD DEAL OF TROUBLE. THE GROUP SHOULD BE SMALL ENOUGH TO HAVE A CHANCE OF AGREEMENT. EXAMPLES OF KINDS OF NOMINEES ARE ROBERT GARDINER OF GHANA, FIRST DIRECTOR OF THE UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA; RYOKICHI HIRONO OF JAPAN, PROFESSOR OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS AT SENDAI UNIVERSITY AND FORMER RESEARCH DIRECTOR FOR THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA; ROBERT MCNAMARA, OF IBRD. A WORKING DRAFT COULD BE ANALYZED AND DISCUSSED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER APPROPRIATE PROFESSIONAL OR OTHER GROUPS WHOSE MOTIVES AND GENERAL

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POSTURES WOULD BE WIDELY RESPECTED. END AMBASSADOR.

6. BEGIN RDO: THE MOST BASIC AND IMPORTANT THING THAT WE COULD DO TO UNDERScore OUR CONTINUING APPRECIATION OF OUR MODERATE AND STABLE OLD FRIENDS WOULD BE TO PROVIDE THEM MORE RESOURCES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. WHILE THIS WOULD INEVITABLY REQUIRE INCREASING THE TOTAL VOLUME OF U.S. AID, IT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE SOME CHANGES IN AID POLICY. FIRST, MANY OF THESE GOVERNMENTS ARE ALREADY RECEIVING OR PROGRAMMING FOR ABOUT AS MUCH ASSISTANCE AS THEY WISH FROM US IN THE FORM OF AID MANDATE-ORIENTED PROJECTS. THE NEEDS TO WHICH ADDITIONAL U.S. AID MIGHT BE DIRECTED ARE REFLECTED IN THE HIGH PRIORITY AND FEASIBLE PROJECT REQUESTS THAT HAVE BEEN TURNED DOWN OR ASIDE BECAUSE THEY DO NOT MEET A STRICT INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT LEGISLATIVE CRITERIA. WE THINK IT WOULD HAVE A VERY FAVORABLE IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THESE GOVERNMENTS IF AID COULD BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO OCCASIONAL REQUESTS FOR SUCH DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHEN THEY GENUINELY RANK HIGH IN HOST GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES AND ARE ECONOMICALLY AND TECHNICALLY SOUND.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 YAOUNDE 0243

SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE PROVIDES A MECHANISM WHEREBY WE CAN "DO THE NECESSARY" NOTWITHSTANDING THE AID MANDATE IN AREAS THREATENED BY WAR OR INSTABILITY. PERHAPS IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO CREATE, EITHER INFORMALLY OR FORMALLY, A SEPECIAL FUNDING DISPENSATION FOR JUSTIFIABLE, HIGH-PRIORITY PROJECTS OUTSIDE STRICT INTERPRETATION OF THE AID MANDATE FOR MODERATE, FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. ALTERNATIVELY, PERHAPS ALL THAT IS NEEDED IS TO INCREASE THE SELECTED DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS (SECTION 106) FUNCTIONAL APPROPRIATION OF THE CURRENT LEGISLATION AND ESTABLISH GUIDELINES FOR ITS MORE FLEXIBLE USE TO MEET THE HIGHEST PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF THESE GOVERNMENTS.

7. A SECOND CATEGORY OF POLICY CHANGES WOULD BE NEEDED WITH REGARD TO COUNTRIES SUCH AS IVORY COAST, GABON AND NIGERIA, WHOSE PUBLIC FINANCES AND/OR PER CAPITA INCOME ARE SO FAVORABLE AS TO MAKE THEM INELIGIBLE FOR CONCESSIONAL ASSISTANCE. THESE COUNTRIES COUNTINUE TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT NEED OF NON-CONCESIONAL U.S. RESOURCES AND WE BELIEVE THAT STRONGER MCECHANISMS COULD BE DEVELOPED AND/OR MORE AGRESSIVELY OPERATED IN AID OR STATE TO

INSURE THAT MAXIMUM USE CONSISTENT WITH U.S. INTERESTS IN MADE OF COMMERCIAL AND EX-IM LOAN RESOURCES AS WELL AS REIMBURSABLE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. END RDO.

8. BEGIN ASSISTANT POLITICAL OFFICER: ONE CAN SAFELY SAY THAT BY SELF-SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT LDCS WILL STEADILY MOVE AWAY FROM THE NORTH-SOUTH PERSPECTIVE AND THE LOGIC OF INTERDEPENDENCE WITH
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DEVELOPED NATIONS WILL BECOME EVEN CLEARER. THE ECONOMIC COMPONENT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE MAY THEN BE BLURRED. HOWEVER, LDCS' DOMESTIC POLITICAL POLICIES OFTEN ADDRESS MAINLY THE NEED TO MAINTAIN POWER. OUR EXPRESSED DISDAIN FOR INHUMAN PRACTICES MAY PLACE US IN A COMPROMISING POSITION OF ECONOMIC ALIGNMENT AND POLITICAL DISTANCE OR CONDEMNATION. THIS PROBLEM, IF UNRESOLVED, MAY RESULT IN FURTHER CLUSTERING OF LDCS AROUND POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH COULD WORK AGAINST THE TENDENCY TOWARD ECONOMIC COOPERATION. ADVANCEMENT HAS TO BE MADE IN THE POLITICAL AREA TO MAKE THE ECONOMIC FEASIBLE AND VICE VERSA.

9. ALTHOUGH HELPING ONLY "THE POOREST ONES" IS NOT WISE POLICY. ASSISTANCE TO SUSTAIN LIFE IS OFTEN A PRECONDITION FOR THE POOREST ONES TO EMBARK UPON DEVELOPMENTAL OBJECTIVES TO ENABLE THEM TO REACH A TAKE-OFF POINT. IF OUR ASSISTANCE IS STRUCTURED AND

DIRECTED BY ABLE TECHNICIANS(US AND LOCAL) WHO ARE SENSITIVE TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT'S INFRASTRUCTURAL NEEDS AND OBJECTIVES, IT CAN FOSTER DEVELOPMENT. END ASST. POL. OFFICER.

10. BEGIN ECON. OFFICER: WE NOTE THAT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES DISCUSSED REFTEL ARE PRIMARILY BILATERAL IN NATURE. WE ALSO PROPOSE THAT OUR INITIATIVE SHOULD BASICALLY BE MULTILATERAL IN NATURE WITH ADDITIONAL GOALS OF REINFORCING BONDS AMONG MODERATE AFRICAN STATES AND ENCOURAGING THEM, BOTH FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLO-PHONE, TO VIEW THEMSELVES AS A COHESIVE GROUP WITH COMMON INTERESTS DISTINCT FROM THOSE OF MORE RADICAL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE BEST WAY FOR U.S. TO FOSTER SUCH A TREND WOULD BE FOR IT TO ENCOURAGE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIALOGUE ON AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WITH MODERATE STATES AS A UNIT AS A SORT OF U.S.-MODERATE SOUTH DIALOGUE. IT IS PROBABLE THAT IN MANY INSTANCES US AND AFRICAN STATES HOLD COMPATIBLE, IF NOT IDENTICAL, POSITIONS, AND IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO COORDINATE POLICIES. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSULTATION ON AND COORDINATION OF POLICIES
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WITH SUCH A GROUP WOULD IN AND OF ITSELF STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH MODERATE AFRICA, GIVING THEM BOTH THE SUBSTANCE AND IMAGE OF PARTNERSHIP.

11. FOR EXAMPLE, REFTEL NOTED THAT SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND THE HORN REGION WAS OF KEY CONCERN TO MANY MODERATE LEADERS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF ON MULTILATERAL BASIS REPRESENTATIVES USG AND MODERATE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS COULD MEET AND, WITHIN LIMITATIONS US ARMS TRANSFER POLICY, ADOPT A JOINT PLAN OF ACTION WHICH THEN COULD BE COORDINATED WITH OUR NATO ALLIES IN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. PERHAPS THE AFRICAN STATES COULD AS A GROUP TAKE INITIATIVES ON THE CONTINENT WHICH WOULD BE COORDINATED WITH SIMULTANEOUS US MOVES IN LATIN AMERICA, EASTERN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE. SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION WOULD ALLOW US TO KEEP ITS DISTANCE FROM, BUT YET INFLUENCE OUTCOME OF THOSE MAINLY AFRICAN ISSUES WHICH HAVE A BEARING ON OUR INTERESTS ELSEWHERE. IT IS WORTH NOTING HERE THAT WE ARE NOT PROPOSING THAT SUCH A GROUP BE A SURROGATE FOR THE US IN AFRICA, BUT RATHER THAT WE FORM TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE A PARTNERSHIP BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS. THIS IS, AFTER ALL, BASICALLY WHAT HAS OCCURRED BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRONT LINE STATES ON THE ISSUE OF RHODESIA. IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT OUR INTENTION IS NOT TO FURTHER POLARIZE AFRICA; THEREFORE ANY GROUPING SHOULD BE LOOSE, INFORMAL AND OPEN TO NEW MEMBERS. NEVERTHELESS THE U.S. SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL AFRICANS.

12. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS PROBABLY NO CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL GROUPING OF MODERATE AFRICAN STATES WITH WHICH IT WOULD BE PRACTICABLE TO BEGIN THIS DIALOGUE (OCAM, ECOWAS, UDEAC ARE ALL TOO NARROW IN SCOPE). TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF

SUCH A GROUP THE US SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND USGGEST TO
SELECTED AFRICAN LEADERS THE POSSIBILITY OF A JOINT MEETING OF THE
US AND THE STATES IN QUESTION TO CONSULT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES OF
MUTUAL CONCERN. PERHAPS THE LEADERS COULD THEN PASS THE SUGGESTION
ON TO OTHER AFRICAN COLLEAGUES. IF THE RESPONSE IS POSITIVE, WE
SHOULD THEN PUSH FOR SUCH A MEETING. IF THE MEETING IN TURN
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PROVES TO BE FRUITFUL WE SHOULD SUGGEST FURTHER MEETINGS AND PER-
HAPS IN TIME WE WILL DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE AND ONGOING DIALOGUE.
END ECONOMIC OFFICER.

13. AF PLEASE PASS OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.
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